

574 Every Ineg should be renowned for his hospitality. Except in case of taboos, never close your gate to a wayfarer; give him a place at your hearth, give him a jar to cook his food in, allow him to sleep in your house; if you are eating, invite him to partake of your meal. Such is the rule. His ordinary needs should always be looked after, that is, all his wants which it does not cost you too much to supply. If your wife shows an inhospitable disposition, and you know facts that positively prove it, then you have a sufficient reason for divorcing her. No woman who refuses a guest the ordinary courtesy of receiving him hospitably should be allowed to share your home. A hospitable woman is an ornament to the house; an inhospitable Ineg is a disgrace to the race."

574 Nevertheless the Ineg are usually considered by outsiders as less hospitably disposed than most other inhabitants of northern Luzon. 609 While among other tribes the best things they have are never too good for a guest, the Ineg are comparatively stingy in that respect: they rarely provide a guest with viands to eat with his rice, even though they have a sufficient amount of them at hand, except of course some kinds of vegetables and other eatables that can be found all around without the least exertion. Or is this due again to their evidently distinct way of treating members of other tribes, especially Kagayan? It has been told me indeed very plainly by several Ineg that with the Ibanag, you could do almost no wrong, and that almost everything was allowed with them. I myself have generally been received very kindly by all Ineg, but usually more so by natives who had travelled around and come in contact with other people. At Madatag an old man once called me in and killed a chicken for me: "This is the way", he said, "an honorable guest should be received; I know it, as I have traveled very extensively; those other Ineg, benighted people, they do not know how to treat a guest decently". And so the apparently less hospitable mind of the Ineg may perhaps be ascribed simply to invincible ignorance, instead of to stinginess or to lack of love for the Ibanag.

579 "Revenge is sweet to every Ineg. Never let an injury pass by unrevenged. Much has been heard from the Ibanag about forgiveness; that term does not belong to our vocabulary. An Ineg who 628 fails to exact full satisfaction for every misdeed is a coward. If [672] somebody who belongs to an enemy village does you some harm, you have the right to revenge yourself upon anyone belonging to the same village: in such cases we recognize solidarity of guilt. A male-

factor should never remain unpunished, even though he be of your own kindred; although in the latter case the sacking of his house and properties will usually be sufficient, without having to resort to bloodshed; and then also there will necessarily be no solidarity, except perhaps in the case of his near relatives. An Isneg who allows an injury to pass unpunished has not the blood of the *mbial* (brave) flowing in his veins. Actually of course we cannot always take the law in our own hands, and so we have to resort to the tribunal of the Ibanag. Now you should never fail to do so, whenever there are no other means available for revenging yourself with impunity". [577]

A couple of years ago, an Isneg from Tawit, whose father was supposed to have been killed at Ripang years ago, murdered a Ripang woman at Kabugaw, under the eyes of the constabulary, on the occasion of a garden day celebration. The murder occurred in the evening, when the woman,—who even then was still too young to have had any knowledge of the murder of the Tawit man's father except perhaps from hearsay, and who consequently could not have had the least participation in it,—was sitting as a guest in the house of one of her people, a policeman, who at the time resided at Kabugaw. She was leaning with her back against the wall of the house, when the Tawit man, who stood outside in the dark, pushed a sharpened bamboo rod through the interstices and pierced the woman's side, with the inevitable result that the victim died after a few hours. 577
628
682
628

Not so long ago our friend *Kadaw* of Lettuakan, who had been badly injured by *Kinaguran* of Talifugu in the heroic times now seemingly gone forever, one of his hands having been almost totally disabled, came to pay me a visit. He had a few eatables for sale and wanted to get a comparatively large share of the white man's money. At a certain moment our conversation ran in the following vein:

I: *Kinaguran* is your friend, is he not?

Kadaw: Yes, indeed, we are good friends now.

I: But suppose the soldiers would leave the district.

I had barely finished my sentence when the old headhunter sprang up, his face beaming, his eyes radiant with a fiendish joy, and, swinging his arms, his hands fingering invisible weapons, he exclaimed: "Oh, then you would see some fighting indeed".

"Never pick a quarrel with a friend: such things should be avoided; but in case of somebody wanting to quarrel with you, go ahead. Nobody will keep his peace if he thinks he is right. Would it not be utter cowardice to keep quiet and let the thing go by? No, shut the 577
578
558

THE ISNEG LIFE CYCLE

153

her consent would be utter recklessness or, rather, out of the question: you would never escape unscathed from the place of your crime. For the rest be careful; even if the girl consents, always remember what pregnancy brings in its wake; so the surest way is to keep oneself free from such entanglements.

"Girls should never be very familiar with young men. Boys will tempt you with fine words and beautiful promises, they will bring you clothes and trinkets as gifts, but beware. Never give yourself over to any boy at night, never allow him to touch you indecently when he comes to talk to you in the evening. Do not even allow him to finger your breasts: all this is dangerous play. Just think what it would mean to have a child before marriage; would that not be an eternal shame? And just imagine the scolding you would get from your parents, the turmoil in which the whole settlement would be thrown, and the difficulty you would encounter from now on in looking for a husband. You are allowed to marry young, so let everything take its usual course. Boys will always be boys; besides they are men, and so they are allowed a certain freedom; but you are a girl, you are a woman, and in your case nothing is allowed. An Isneg girl should never be a flirt. The boys will try to play with you; it is not for you to allow them to do so. Always show your resentment, when they have touched you the wrong way or been otherwise too familiar with you"

To touch a girl's breasts is *magkabdt* in Isneg, and it is said only of men. The existence of a special term like that serves to show that this must be something like a favorite sport among the Isneg. The following anecdote will help to prove the truth of that statement. On a certain occasion an Isneg boy was explaining to me a native term whose meaning was "purpose, intention"; and as he could hardly do so without illustrating it by an example, he told me what follows: "Suppose you touch a girl's breasts and she is angry at you, then you say: 'I did not do it intentionally'", and here he used the term in question.

Chastity is certainly very strictly imposed upon unmarried people, or rather upon people who are not yet engaged, but from the Isneg point of view and with reference to young men, it should rather be defined: not to do anything that might render a girl pregnant. Not that the Isneg know any contraceptive measures, but that the pregnancy of a girl is considered as the thing to be avoided, not fornication as such. Both are very nearly related to one another of

836
577
684

[431]

836
673
684
672

[842]

836 course, and the distinction seems rather to be theoretical than practical: nevertheless that is what is going on in the Isneg mind as far
673 as I understand it. To them purpose and intention mean very little,
684 as will be shown again very soon when I shall refer to killing as a
672 crime: what counts is the result. If a boy chances to sleep with a
girl without rendering her pregnant, the Isneg may perhaps not see
anything very wrong in the whole affair, but woe to him if fate is
against him.

836 Nevertheless with reference to young women, the code is much
684 stricter. although the boy will suffer a much harder immediate
punishment for his delinquency than will the girl. A girl should
never think of doing anything in that line; a boy might perhaps be
inclined to do it, but he should know the consequences, if the result is
what it should not be.

834 I have described in my introduction to this paper how certain
626 Isneg parents refused to send their girls to school on account of the
notoriously immoral conduct of their teacher, and here is what we
read in a little manual of instructions for soldiers of the Philippine
Constabulary: "No Isneg woman should be joked with or touched
by anyone. Christian cargadores or servants should be cautioned
about this, as serious trouble may result".

836 Once I heard a boy of some twelve years old, who was working for
533 wages here at Kabugaw, improvise a little song, probably in order to
render the work less heavy and to relieve his tiredness. The song
was not what you would call a religious one, but it served to show
very nicely the ideas current among these people, and at the same
time it proved that even the Isneg understood the meaning of what
is called an "occasion of sin" (in this case: the sin of impregnating
a girl). I may be permitted to write the song down exactly as I
heard it: "Do not approach my vulva, I do not want you to have
sexual intercourse with me, I am afraid of becoming pregnant: so
say the women".

836 A boy who has made a girl pregnant has to marry her; if he refuses,
684 the raids just referred to take place without exception, and the family
of the boy loses everything. The same happens when a married man
commits adultery with a girl and impregnates her; in his case of
course there is rarely question of marriage, and the raids take place
almost without exception. Formerly the boy must have been for-

[113] * Camp John Hay Guide Book. A Trip to Ifugao and Bontoc. By Captain
Harrington W. Cochran, Coast Artillery Corps, 1923, p. 28.

577 lawful revenge for a former injury: a traveler who passes your
609 village is a guest more than anything else, so show him the way with
683 truth and exactitude, whenever you are questioned about it. In a
574 word, be truthful, whenever you have no grave reason to act other-
wise; and, with reference to your enemies and the Ibanag, deceit is
usually lawful: only special circumstances might oblige you to stick
to truth even in their case."

576 Isneg know little of what we understand by courtesy: they rarely
201 come out of their house, for instance, to show you the way. If you
ask them for information, they usually give it to you, truthfully
indeed, but without taking the trouble to appear and show the
direction by gestures, which would ordinarily be much clearer, at
least to a complete stranger, than mere oral indications. Under
this respect a Negrito is generally much more correct, at least
according to our own point of view.

682 Now let us consider a few vices and crimes more in particular.
577 "Never kill or wound a friend: this is a crime that calls for venge-
ance. Perhaps he was far from right in sustaining the quarrel, but
you inevitably put yourself in the wrong by resorting to bloodshed.
A homicide or any kind of severe wounding among friends brings in
its wake at least the customary looting of the house of the culprit.
So beware, control yourself in time, before it is too late to repent.
When you are engaged in some dangerous business,—for instance,
when hunting,—always be prudent and see that no harm befalls any
person. Death by violence is a terrible thing; bloodshed is never
allowed among people who are not at enmity with one another."

• 672 Two examples will show very clearly how little the Isneg care
about intention or purpose; the result of your act is the only thing
they consider: if you killed a person, it is wholly immaterial whether
you did it intentionally or not, whether it was premeditated or done
by accident, whether you could have prevented it or not, whether
there was culpable negligence on your part or not.

682 Last year an Isneg soldier from Musimut went to hunt at night
672 with some friends and relatives. He handed his gun to one of his
kinsmen living at Nagbabalayan, gave him the necessary instructions,
and then went the other way to drive the game in the direction of
the man with the gun. When the latter fired at the deer that ran
toward him, he killed the soldier instead: the poor fellow must have
lost all sense of direction or forgotten about the place where he left
his gun; anyhow he died after a few moments. No sooner was the

THE ISNEG LIFE CYCLE

159

deed done but the relatives of the dead soldier mustered together, went to Nagbabalayan, entered the house of the poor involuntary killer and rifled whatever they found of value.

A few months ago at Nagilian (municipal district of Namaltugan), a man ascended a coconut tree in order to gather a few nuts. Unfortunately, while he was dropping them on the ground, a child came running along and received the thump of one of the huge nuts on its head: the child fell down of course and lay unconscious. So soon as the parents and relatives heard about the whole affair, all head-axes were unsheathed, and terrible things might have happened, if the sanitary inspector, who was present at the time, had not assured the people that the child would live.

According to the Christian code, God rewards or punishes thoughts as well as deeds. Ordinary human justice does not bother about mere intentions that are not followed by deeds, but it recognizes the act of a man as a human act, it distinguishes an act done intentionally from one done involuntarily, it differentiates between culpable negligence and unavoidable accident. The Isneg code knows no such distinctions: an act is an act; the result is the only thing taken into consideration. The Isneg language has terms for "doing purposely, intention", and so on; but in practice the fact that something was done unintentionally makes little difference: it is not the guilt of a person that is considered, but only the result of his act.

"Adultery is a shameful crime, especially in women. An Isneg man should content himself with the wife or wives who have been paid for: avoid mixing with other women, such habits bring only woe in their wake. Take care never to make a young girl pregnant; whether the person who commits such a mistake be a married man or a young unmarried man, the result is the same, so I have not to insist upon the matter. Be not less careful when the woman in question is married: to excite the anger of her husband may have dire consequences. If you are caught in the act, who will blame the offended man for killing you? The right will ever remain on his side.

"An unfaithful wife is a thorn in the flesh; keep to your husband, never allow any other man to share your affections. No true Isneg will stand an adulteress: your husband will divorce you and you will have no recourse, your parents will be in duty bound to give back the price they received for you. Who will respect a woman who respects neither herself nor her husband? No excuse will save you from infamy. Your husband may be inclined occasionally to have

682
672

672

837
684
[836]
577
831

[586]

THE ISNEG LIFE CYCLE

161.

the fact that I had used his daughter. Can you beat it!" Needless to say, the conversation was practically a soliloquy on the part of the policeman. I do not believe though that his action was consonant with the Isneg code of morals; but this incident, and especially the answer of the girl's father, shows clearly how different is the state of man and woman among the Isneg, with reference to sex morality.

It should be added here that the father would probably have objected much more strongly to the man who took such liberties with his daughter, if he had not been a policeman. The latter are supposed to be more or less immune and may take liberties not accorded to others, probably on account of their position. Isneg in general resent that: I have heard them say so more than once; but they are afraid to object too strongly, and so policemen mostly do what they like: their reputation is far from clean all over the district, although I do not believe that they are all equally blamable. Later on I heard that, at the time of the above occurrence, the policeman had intended to make the girl his second wife, an engagement which had been broken off at a subsequent date.

It may be noted in this connection that among the Isneg a man, whether single or married, who commits adultery with a married woman (*manaládag*) is thought to be driven to his crime by some evil spirit. In such a case his guilt would be considerably lessened in our point of view; not so, however, in that of the Isneg: in his eyes, it is only the ultimate act that counts, as has been stated before.

"A fit of anger usually makes a man ridiculous in the eyes of the bystanders. It is true that when there is question of a rightful quarrel, you should never fail to sustain it; to be meek and patient under the circumstances would be mere cowardice. Nevertheless everybody is inclined to laugh at the behavior of an angry man: so, although you be strictly in your right, try to control your anger sufficiently not to cause others to laugh at you.

"You know our belief with reference to people who are wont to laugh at the defects of other persons (*magdóla*): if such people are married, they will be punished by having their children suffer the same defect; if they are still young, the children, who will be born to them in the future will be misshapen (*pákán*).

"A certain amount of *bási* is not to be despised, but drinking to excess is always bad. Who respects a drunken man? Besides, think about the consequences: quarrels, fights, bloodshed, revenges, etc. As soon as you feel that you have enough, go away and sleep it off, lest

836
831
562
661
554684
837
776
672201
152
577
578201
152
577733
577

534 women around, while the men are in bathing and swimming together, they keep their private parts covered with one hand while they are out of the water.

186 Community spirit in a *barangay* is strong. They
476 have common interests and often work together in
342 exchange of labor, *pinta*. When one builds a house all the neighbors come and help, making a party of it.

417 Each *barangay* is surrounded by a heavy bamboo picket stockade. The bamboos are filled with small
628 stones so they can not be easily cut away. A *baran-*
648 *gay* has all the other *barangays* as enemies; but a
676 peace-pact, *budong*, is often made between two of them.

● 672 Peace-pact holders are appointed and held personally
721 responsible that it is not broken. Each *barangay* is held accountable for the acts of any of its members. Then they are allies, helping each other in warfare and being mutually responsible for each other's property and personal safety. There is danger of forays at anytime from other *barangays*. So war is always imminent. There maybe old feuds to be settled and
[554] deaths to be avenged. This is augmented by the fact that each warrior must take at least one head to establish himself, both in society and in the heart of the girl whom he desires.

HEAD HUNTING

721 When the demand either for revenge or for heads
411 becomes strong, the *maingel* gives the order for a head
726 hunting expedition to the enemy *barangay* selected. He will probably be the leader of the expedition. The warriors who are to go, prepare their weapons: shields, spears, and a special *aliwa*, which has the point on the cutting edge drawn out to make it more effective.